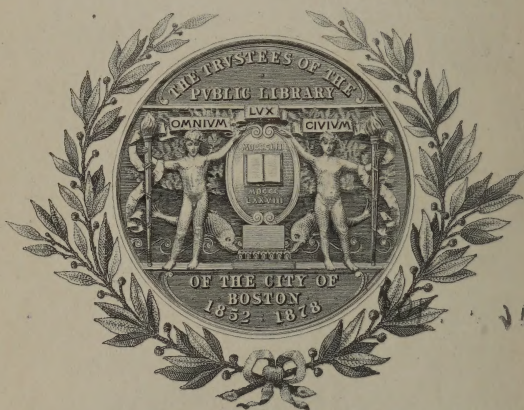


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REPORT

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OF THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GREAT MEETING

IN

EXETER HALL,

ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 3. 1840,

OF THE

**SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.**

CAREFULLY COMPILED

FROM THE REPORTS IN THE SUN AND PATRIOT NEWSPAPERS,
COMPARED WITH THE COMPILER'S OWN NOTES.

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July 2, 1899.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Anniversary Meeting of this Society took place on Wednesday, June 24, 1840, at Exeter Hall, his Royal Highness the Duke of SUSSEX in the chair. The doors were opened at ten o'clock, and immediately the whole area of the immense hall, and the galleries surrounding it, were crowded by well-dressed persons, many of whom had been waiting at the doors for some hours. Amongst the numerous and highly-distinguished company on the platform we noticed the following:— Her Grace the Duchess of Sutherland; her Grace the Duchess of Brunswick, Mrs. Fry, and Mrs. Clarkson, the widowed daughter of the venerable Thomas Clarkson, with her son, the only living descendant of the revered founder of the Association; M. Guizot, French Ambassador; M. Isambert, Judge, Membre de la Chambre des Deputes, and Honorary Secretary of the French Anti-Slavery Society; M. Alcide Laune, Vice-Judge de la Cour de Premier Instance; Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.; C. Lister, Esq., M.P.; W. Busfield, Esq., M.P.; Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P.; George Pryme, Esq., M.P.; D. Roche, Esq., M.P.; Lord Charles Fitzroy, M.P.; Andrew White, Esq., M.P.; the Hon. C. Lascelles, Esq., M.P.; Sir Eardly Wilmot, Bart., M.P.; R. A. Slaney, Esq., M.P.; the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P.; J. H. Lowther, Esq., M.P.; F. B. Beamish, Esq., M.P.; G. W. Wood, Esq., M.P.; G. Wilbraham, Esq., M.P.; A. Sandford, Esq., M.P.; J. H. Lowther, Esq., M.P.; the Right Hon. Sir Stephen Lushington, M.P.; Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.; Samuel Gurney, Esq.; W. P. Blair, Esq., of Bath; and Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham; and Dr. Bowring.

The distinguished American and Colonial guests were as follows:— R. R. Madden, M.D., from Cuba; Thomas Ralph, M.D., from Canada; J. G. Birney, Esq., of New York; G. Bradburn, Esq., of Massachusetts; Houtite Seth Sprague, of ditto; H. B. Stanton, of New York; Mr. Justice Jeremie, of Ceylon; Mr. W. Wemyss Anderson, of Jamaica; Revds. Wm. Knibb, of ditto; Elon Galusha, of New York; Nathaniel Colver, of Boston, U.S.A.; C. P. Grosvenor, of Massachusetts; Colonel J. P. Miller, of Vermont; Professor Dean, of ditto; Professor Adam; Norton S. Townshend, M.D., of Philadelphia; Wendal Phillips, Esq., of ditto; and a very great number of Dissenting Ministers.

Before the commencement of the business of the meeting, the Rev. T. Scales, the Secretary to the Society, came forward and announced that the venerable and venerated father of the great and noble cause in which they were engaged, Thomas Clarkson, intended to be present for a short time at the meeting, but the state of his health was so infirm that the display of any strong feeling would be too much for him; he had therefore to request that when he made his appearance the utmost stillness might prevail. He had made that announcement in order to prevent any demonstration of applause on his appearance, which would

overcome their venerable friend in the present infirm state of his health.

Shortly afterwards, his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex came upon the platform. On his first appearance his Royal Highness was mistaken by many of those present for Mr. Clarkson, but when he came forward and was recognised, the shouts of applause with which he was received were absolutely deafening. The Duchess of Sutherland rose to receive his Royal Highness, and her example was followed by all present. His Royal Highness shook hands cordially with her Grace, who sat to the right of the chair, and also with M. Guizot, who took his seat amidst the loudest applause and waving of hats and handkerchiefs from all parts of the immense assembly.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., then came forward and said, he proposed that the meeting should accept the great favour which had been offered them by His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, who had kindly consented to take the chair on the present occasion. He need hardly say that there were few objects in furtherance of which they could expect so great a favour at the hands of his Royal Highness, but seeing the great importance of the object of the present meeting, and the philanthropic and religious character of that object, he could not but congratulate them on the occasion, and would conclude by moving that his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex do take the chair.

Mr. GUIZOT, the French Ambassador, rose to second the resolution, and was received with the most enthusiastic cheering. He spoke in English as follows:—I have the honour to second this motion, and I congratulate myself as being honoured with it.

His Royal Highness the Duke of SUSSEX then rose and was received with loud cheering which lasted several minutes. When the applause had somewhat subsided his Royal Highness addressed the meeting as follows:—It is with extreme pleasure that I accept the situation you have conferred upon me by placing me in the chair on this important occasion. At the same time I regret that other duties which call for my presence elsewhere will oblige me to retire before the conclusion of the business of this day. I have duties elsewhere to perform which cannot be executed without my personal attendance. I having fixed this day by public announcement, it will be impossible for me not to appear on that occasion. But when certain gentlemen, most worthy and excellent members of this Society, requested my attendance, I readily acceded to their request to come here, in order, first, to prove by my presence the deep interest I take in what may be called this most religious cause, and to prove by my act and my deed that I am hand and heart with you on this occasion. It certainly is a most extraordinary circumstance that this numerous congregation of individuals assembled for so righteous a purpose should be nearly coming to the temporary conclusion of their work here by the celebration of the anniversary of this Institution. If I understand their object, it is by all peaceable, religious, and moral means, to carry into effect the total abolition of slavery throughout the world. I may therefore use an expression which I have frequently adopted in other places as well as here. This is a Catholic cause. It is a cause which combines all nations—all religions—and all colours—and it is right that it should be so; for that all-merciful Power which presides over this meeting and this cause, as He does over every religious and good cause, looks down equally on the lowest

as on the highest, on the black man as well as on the white, and while interested and speculative men deny this, the Divine Power, which blends mercy with justice, regards the black equally with the white man, and has created and endowed him with the same powers of mind as any of his fellow-creatures with whom the world is peopled. How is it he has not risen then? because it is by education only that he can improve his mind, and work those materials which the Almighty has given his creatures for the benefit of mankind, and the salvation of themselves. I say that a meeting like this is a Catholic one, and it ought to be carried out with feelings of charity, combined with orderly habits, and submission to the executive powers, on whom the task of carrying out effectively the objects of these meetings must ultimately devolve. Our duty is to enlighten the public mind — to create an interest in that mind on this subject; and having created such an interest in the public mind, it becomes then our duty to guide it, and place it in such a form as will carry weight with those who negotiate between nation and nation. I have no hesitation in saying that the communication of feeling between nation and nation, such as this, is attended with the utmost advantage; but when it comes to a great executive measure, which, by being too hastily or eagerly pursued, may affect seriously the interests of different countries, it is the duty of a body like this to appeal to their feelings, and fairly, firmly, and manfully to persevere in persuading them to assist us in fully carrying out our objects. I say this sincerely. I have a strong impression on my mind of the necessity of submitting to the Executive the exact manner in which we are to carry out our ulterior objects. Let us look back to history. It is lamentable to see how great and ennobling feelings have been perverted by politicians for the purpose of exciting in different nations a national feeling one against the other. History proves that this has been the case in the greatest, and most ennobling, and sacred of all causes — the cause of religion. I need not advert to the crusades, when, under the pretence of the name of the Almighty, Christians set themselves against their fellow men, and the cause of war was sanctioned by the name of the God of Peace. Let us take care not to fall into the same error, and let us not, while we are working for the benefit of mankind, suffer speculating individuals to turn our righteous cause into one of mischief. Are you prepared, in this great cause, to carry such questions at the risk of war and bloodshed? (No, No!) I believe you are not. I expected such a response, and I am most happy to hear it; and I hope that gentlemen who come here will make their statements of the cruelties and horrors they have witnessed without attempting to cast a slur upon any nation. It will thus come to the knowledge of those whose duty is to report the circumstances in the quarter in which they ought to be reported, and those persons will eventually be satisfied — first, as to the morality of the cause; and, secondly, that the destruction of a trade so horrid as the slave-trade must be for their own interest and ultimate benefit. Following with other countries, which still employ the labour of the slave, the same principle which we have already carried out, we must labour to prove to them that it is for their interest to make him free, to inspire him with religious and sober habits, and, by improving his mind, to improve the felicity of the Society, and the welfare of the country in which he resides. By pursuing such a course, you have every reason and confi-

dence to expect that the opinion of the world at large will be with you; and so truly known is the power of the respectability of this country, which you have with you, that it must give you additional weight and confidence; and, when I see myself surrounded, as I am, not only by the nobility and talents of this country, but that the representative of the king of the French, whose talents are so well known — whose knowledge of the history of this country is so extensive, as has been manifested by a recent publication, which must hand down his name to posterity, — I feel confident that our operations must thrive, and that we must succeed in a cause so righteous as this. That such must be the ultimate result I cannot doubt. In discussing this question, you should recollect that individuals are not nations, although the criminal act of one individual must tend to cast a stain upon the character of his country. We ourselves, induced, in the first place, by the exertions of a few most respectable and worthy men, one of whom, and the father of this great cause, will this day appear before you, endeavoured to blot out this stain from our character. In this we succeeded, and we invited other nations to co-operate with us. They came forward to do so, some with more difficulty than others. This was to be expected where there were so many and such varied interests; but because our cause is a righteous one, it is not therefore by injustice that it is to be carried out. If you say that the selling of human flesh is wicked and abominable, all must agree with you. But Governments acting upon misguided notions, may have forced these people to engage in this traffic. In Jamaica, for instance, at one time, public lands were not permitted to be bought without a strict injunction that a certain number of slaves should be located on the ground; Government, therefore, in this instance, is a party concerned. It has compelled these people to purchase slaves, and, therefore, the country is in duty bound, wishing to put an end to slavery, to come forward and make compensation to these individuals. I have stated these circumstances to the meeting only to show that although we are right, yet we ought not to act unjustly towards those who have been unjustly entrapped into the concern. At one o'clock I must retire. Necessity compels me to do so. I have come here at no little inconvenience, but at no sacrifice, for I have received the pleasure of seeing you. — (His Royal Highness sat down amidst loud applause.)

After the conclusion of his Royal Highness's speech, Mr. O'Connell appeared upon the platform, and was received with the most enthusiastic cheering. When the cheering had ceased, there was an attempt at disapprobation by a little knot of persons, not exceeding half a dozen, in a remote corner of the hall, which, however, had only the effect of producing a tremendous round of applause from all parts of the meeting. When the cheering had subsided

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE came forward, and said that their venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson, was in an adjoining room, and as it was probably the last opportunity he would have of meeting the friends of the cause, he was desirous of saying a few words at the conclusion of the reading of the Report. The delicate state of his health had rendered it desirable that he should remain outside until their royal chairman had delivered his address, and he would take that opportunity of informing the royal chairman, that at his first entrance into that meeting, some little mistake had occurred, many of those present having ima-

gined that their venerable friend Thomas Clarkson had then entered. On account of the weak state of the health of their venerable friend, he trusted that they would abstain from any expression of popular feeling at the conclusion of the few words which he was desirous of addressing to them. The son of their venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson, had died some years ago, and had left one son behind him. That grandson and his widowed mother would accompany him into the room, and that child was the only male representative of the venerable Thomas Clarkson.

The CHAIRMAN said they would understand that while Mr. Clarkson was present, they would abstain from every expression of approbation, but that when he retired, they were at liberty to do as they liked.

Shortly afterwards, Mr. Clarkson, accompanied by his daughter-in-law and grandson, entered the room, and took his seat on the left of the illustrious chairman, who shook him cordially by the hand. The most profound silence was observed, and the venerable gentleman and his orphan grandchild appeared to be objects of the deepest interest and sympathy to all present. Although feeble, we are happy to state that the general appearance of the venerated father of the anti-slavery movement betokened that he was in the enjoyment of as good health as at his advanced period of life commonly falls to the lot of a human being.

Mr. SCOBLE then read the following:—

ABSTRACT OF REPORT.

However interesting or desirable it might be to sketch the history of the abolition of the slave-trade, and of slavery, by the Legislature and the people of this country, as preliminary to the proceedings of the day, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society feel that it would be trespassing too much on the time and attention of this great meeting to take even the most rapid glance at it, and will therefore content themselves for the present in merely stating, that in the facts connected with that history, as well as in the actual state of the anti-slavery cause, at the present moment, they find the most ample justification for the formation, the extension, and the support of the institution to which it is their honour and their happiness to belong. In the brief statement of particulars the committee propose to make they would call attention, 1. To the origin of the Society; 2. To the fundamental principles on which it is based, and the means by which it proposes to accomplish its objects; 3. The labours of the past year; and, 4. The questions which press most on their attention at the present time.

1. On the 27th of February, 1839, in compliance with an invitation issued by their devoted fellow-labourer in the cause of human freedom and happiness, Joseph Sturge, — a small body of gentlemen who deeply sympathised with him in the great object he had in view, met at the Guildhall Coffee-house, London, to take into consideration the propriety of forming a Society for promoting the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, by moral and religious influence, and such measures only as will not, directly or indirectly, sanction the employment of an armed force for its prevention or suppression. At this meeting a series of resolutions were passed recommending the formation of a Society based on those principles, and a provisional Committee

was appointed to take the necessary steps to secure its accomplishment.

The committee thus appointed having entered upon their duties, issued a circular, embodying the resolutions which had been previously adopted, which was sent to each of the Anti-Slavery delegates convened in London and at subsequent periods, and likewise to each of the two Anti-Slavery committees then existing in London, and to other friends of the cause throughout the country, inviting their attendance in London on the 17th of April following, for the purpose of considering the propriety of forming the Society which had been recommended.

Upwards of 1,100 circulars were sent throughout the country, and on the day appointed, friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, from various parts of the United Kingdom, met at Exeter Hall, and after two days of careful, serious, and deliberate consideration of the whole subject, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was formed, and office-bearers appointed to carry out its principles and plans. For details the Committee beg to refer to the circular issued on the occasion, containing the resolutions and address of the Society.

2. Among the resolutions passed at that meeting, the Committee deem it important to call particular attention to the second and third, which develop the objects which the Society proposes to aim at, and the principles which should govern them in prosecuting their great enterprise; they are as follows:—“That the objects of the Society be the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves;” and “that the following be the fundamental principles of the Society — that so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character, and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.”

3. In pursuance of the duties devolved upon them, the committee have been earnestly and actively engaged during the past year in diffusing the principles of the Society, both at home and abroad; in collecting information from various and authentic sources, on all points connected with their immediate duties; in the formation of Auxiliary Associations, in different parts of the kingdom, or of securing the co-operation of those which previously existed in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Birmingham and Liverpool, and other important places; in sending deputations to France and Holland, and availing themselves of the willing service of members of their committee, among whom they would particularly mention their Treasurer, who not only accompanied the deputations to France and Holland, but has visited Denmark and Sweden in furtherance of the objects of the Society; in petitioning Parliament on subjects intimately connected with the cause of humanity and freedom; in memorialising the Government, and securing interviews with the heads of the Foreign and Colonial Departments, on various important subjects connected with the rights and welfare of the emancipated bondsmen in the late slave colonies of this country — on the injuries inflicted on the Hill Coolies, nefariously introduced into the Mauritius and British Guiana, and against their further export from

British India—on the degraded condition and sufferings of the liberated Africans in Cuba and the Brazils—on the precarious situation of the fugitive slaves who have sought refuge in Canada from the oppression of their masters—on the duty of protecting the negroes found on board the *Amistad*, and now detained in the prisons of the United States, contrary to every dictate of humanity and international law—on the necessity of refusing to acknowledge the independence of Texas—and various other subjects of kindred interest and importance.

The Committee have also directed their attention to the consideration of such plans as were likely to promote the objects of the Society, to the schemes of emigration into the British colonies now so earnestly pressed on the attention of Parliament, the Government, and the people of this country, by the West India body, and the state of the laws in the British colonies, in so far as they are calculated to abridge the rights of the enfranchised negroes, and to obstruct the successful working of the free system.

The Committee would also state, that, in addition to various circulars issued by the Committee, they have published and circulated an address to the women of England, and two pamphlets, one an examination of the claims of Texas to be recognised as an independent power, and another on the cruel treatment of Coolies imported into Mauritius and British Guiana. They have also issued every alternate week, and oftener, as occasion has required, as the official organ of the Society, the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, in the form of a newspaper, which they trust will obtain an extensive circulation amongst their friends in every part of the empire.

The great Anti-Slavery Convention called by the Committee has nearly terminated its important sittings; the results of its deliberations will, in due time, be given to the world. The Committee are grateful to the friends of the oppressed who have so nobly responded to their call; and, without pledging the Society to the adoption of every measure proposed to the Convention, or holding themselves responsible for all its acts, they rejoice in believing that its solemn testimony against slavery, as opposed to the eternal and immutable principles of natural justice, and the spirit and precepts of the Christian religion, will be felt throughout every branch of the church, as well as throughout every portion of the civilised world, and that immediate emancipation, without restriction, and without price, unanimously recognised as the duty of all persons and governments implicated in the support of slavery, will be the watchword of Abolitionists throughout the world.

4. Upon British Abolitionists the duties which press most heavily at the present moment are—the abolition of slavery in British India, the necessity of watching over the legislation, and purifying the administration of justice in the colonies, and of resisting the enactment of any schemes of emigration into them, the result of which may be injurious to the liberty and happiness of their fellow men. But their efforts will not be confined within these limits: wherever there is a human being subject to slavery or the victim of the slave trade, thither should their eyes be turned, their sympathies directed, and their help afforded; and, in conjunction with the Abolitionists of other lands, they trust, by the steady persevering dissemination of knowledge on the subject, the frequent but well-timed remonstrance, as well with authorities at home as those abroad, the intrepid exposure of slavery in its real character,

as odious to man and offensive to God, the calm but resolute denunciation of its supporters, the countenance and protection of its victims, to hasten the glorious day when not a slave shall wet the soil which he cultivates with his tears, or crimson it with his blood.

The Committee would have felt delighted to have referred particularly to the gigantic efforts made by the Abolitionists of the United States of America to purge their institutions from the stain, and their people from the guilt of slavery, and to have dwelt on the general advance of the sacred cause of human freedom on the continent of Europe, but their limits forbid. They cannot, however, avoid expressing an earnest hope, that France will soon accomplish the great work of abolition in her colonies, and secure to herself the honour of perfecting, at once and for ever, a great work, by giving immediate and entire emancipation to her slaves, and thus set a noble example to other nations of the earth.

In conclusion, it is not for the Committee to say what amount of good they may have been enabled to accomplish during the past year. They rejoice to think, however, that they have not laboured in vain. At all events, they have endeavoured to lay the foundation for the future operations of the Society both broad and deep: and now, in humble dependence upon Him whose blessing alone can give their best efforts success, and without which, whatever be their character, they must fail, they commend the great cause in which they are engaged to the Christian sympathies, the ardent prayers, and the generous support of this great assembly.

Mr. GEORGE W. ALEXANDER read the financial statement of the Committee from the 1st April, 1839, to the 31st May, 1840.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, in announcing that his venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson, would now address the meeting, entreated that he should be received and heard with perfect stillness.

The meeting having, with no small difficulty, "hushed" itself into silence,

Mr. CLARKSON said—May it please your Royal Highness, and Ladies and Gentlemen, I come to you in very advanced years, and in a feeble state of health—for which you must make an allowance; but it cheers my heart—it does me good—to see such a respectable assemblage of individuals on such an occasion. I congratulate you on having his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex in the Chair. To him I have been long attached for his Liberal sentiments, but particularly for the readiness which he has shown to come forward on all philanthropic occasions. It gives me great pleasure to think that another illustrious member of the Royal Family has distinguished himself in the same way on another occasion, when I am sorry I was not able to attend. Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been greatly gratified during the meetings of the Anti-Slavery Convention, to see so many good men met together from various parts of the world—men selected for their moral worth. To the moral man such a sight is a beautiful picture of itself. But when I consider that those good men met together for the heavenly purpose of breaking the chains of the oppressed, and of generously assisting those whom they have known only by their sufferings, and who, moreover, have no means whatever of assisting themselves, the gratification which I have felt has been turned into admiration and delight. Surely these meetings must have been ac-

ceptable to God. Has he not said in the Old Testament, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice?" that is, I prefer the warm and tender affections of the heart, when they break forth into practical benevolence, to the mere observance of the most important ceremony of the Jewish religion. Has he not said again in the same book, with reference to another religious custom of those times, "The fast that I have chosen is to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke?" Is not the New Testament also full of the same delightful sentiments? Such meetings as these, therefore, cannot but be acceptable to God; and as they must be acceptable to him, so I hope we may look upon them as happy omens of our ultimate success. Ladies and Gentlemen, permit me to take this opportunity before I return home, for I shall have no other, of thanking those individuals, many, very many of whom are now sitting with you, for the kind attention and respect which they have shown me during the last fortnight. I must, however, in point of fairness, put down all this kindness, not to myself alone, but to my connection with the great and good cause in which I have been engaged. It must be borne in mind that I could have done but little in it as an individual. What could I have done without the powerful assistance of my dear and revered friend, Mr. Wilberforce? and what could he and I have done together without the assistance of thousands of others? I take no particular credit to myself for having taken a part in it, more than others who did the same. Each was actuated by his own view of the subject, and the feelings which this view of it occasioned. As to myself, I was literally forced into it. I will relate in a few words how this happened. I was thinking one day in a more serious and solemn manner than I had ever done before of the multiplied injuries which the unhappy people who are now the objects of your sympathy were made to undergo in Africa, on their passage, and in our colonies. All the tragical scenes which occurred in these their different situations, passed in horrible review before me, and my compassion for their sufferings was at that moment so great, so intense, so overwhelming as to have overpowered me, and compelled me to form the resolution which I dared not resist — it was at my peril to resist — of attending their deliverance. Thus I was forced into the great work. I did, therefore, only what it was my duty to have done under such circumstances — I had only the merit of obeying the extraordinary impulse on my mind. I have often indulged the belief that this feeling might have come from God; to Him, therefore, and not to such a creature as myself, you are to attribute all the honour and all the glory.

As the venerable gentleman resumed his seat the Duke of Sussex shook him cordially by the hand, and a murmur of applause, with difficulty repressed, spread through the meeting.

Mr. J. STURGE came forward, and explained that his venerable friend (Mr. Clarkson) had risen to move but had forgotten to make the motion — "That the Report now read, together with the treasurer's accounts, be approved and adopted by the meeting, and be printed under the direction of the Committee." He (Mr. Sturge) had also to explain, that as Mr. Clarkson had concluded his address, there was no longer any objection to the meeting expressing its feelings as it pleased.

The meeting being thus loosed from restraint, received this notice with a most vehement and enthusiastic burst of cheering and applause.

M. ISAMBERT, was then introduced by Mr. Scoble as a member of the French Chamber of Deputies, judge of the Court of Cassation (Paris), and secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society of France. The hon. gentleman, whose address (in French) was translated by Dr. Bowring, spoke to the following effect :— I deem it a great honour to be called on, as one of the French deputation, to second the motion which has been proposed for your adoption, and especially to follow in the footsteps of the illustrious and interesting man—ancient (*ancien*) and honourable for his virtues. When the applause subsided, the hon. gentleman proceeded to say, that he hoped the privilege would be granted to that venerable man which was not accorded to Wilberforce—that of seeing the establishment of the work which he had undertaken. He felt great gratification in being allowed to participate in this great meeting, and he could not doubt that the knowledge of the labours and proceedings of this society would have most important results in bringing about the complete overthrow of slavery. He said it would surprise his fellow-countrymen to learn, that in this great capital twelve whole days had been devoted to the discussion of this great and important question ; that more than forty deputies arrived from the United States of America, who, with the deputies from the three kingdoms, and various parts of the world, made up the number of four hundred individuals, who met together, from day to day, to discuss by what means and in what manner slavery and the slave-trade could be overthrown and abolished for ever. He had had the pleasure of hearing in the convention the most elevated sentiments expressed in the most eloquent language, and those exalted sentiments were fully responded to by the numerous audiences. He was happy to see sitting in that chair a prince of the royal house of England, whose name was associated with every thing that was good, and great, and noble in this country, and who had come to sanction and crown, while he honoured, their proceedings with his presence. He had also to congratulate himself that the representative of the prince whose subject he was had also come among them and sanctioned their labours by his appearance, while his diplomatic position would not allow him more actively to cooperate in the exertions they were making, and in advancing the cause which they were met to support. He hoped that in the presence of that gentleman they would recognise the intentions and the prosperity of the French nation as regarded the anti-slavery cause. He congratulated them, too, that the time had come when the friends of the negro cause could no longer be contemned, and in which no degradation could attach itself to the word neophyte, or the emancipation of the blacks. It would now be acknowledged that their exertions were truly philanthropic, and that they were only endeavouring to carry out these great and generous principles which he wished to see applied to every individual of the human race. He wished to excuse himself for not entering into details at so much length as he should desire, as he was but a stranger among them, speaking a foreign language ; but he rejoiced to find himself in the presence of so many eloquent and illustrious advocates of the cause, and he had already felt great delight in listening to the oratory of one who represented a country not wholly free herself, but whose perfect emancipation he hoped he might soon be enabled to hail. He wished they should not receive an erroneous impression from reports in the public newspapers as to what had passed in the commission

which had been lately nominated in France in order to determine what steps should be taken for the abolition of slavery. It was true that every member of the commission was not an abolitionist, but still he was bound to say that none of its members advocated the slavery principle; and in the various discussions on the subject its injustice had been acknowledged by all. In many of the discussions which had taken place he merely recognised a desire on the part of the members to ascertain the state of public opinion, and he did not anticipate any evils from the labours of the commission. He thought he might announce to them, that whatever else might happen — whatever project might be adopted, the system of apprenticeship would be repudiated, — and though the time at which slavery would be abolished might be retarded for ten or twenty years, yet its complete abolition was in futurity, and that the only question of embarrassment and difficulty would be the question of indemnity. The last project presented to the commission was one which had been submitted by an illustrious friend of his — and the interpreter would add, of his also — M. Tocqueville, to that body. He was bound to call their attention to the fact, that in the Commission were to be found some of the most distinguished advocates of the abolition; and its president was the illustrious Duke of Broglie — one of those who went farthest towards effecting a complete emancipation, and who was particularly distinguished by his great and constant exertions in the cause. He also wished they should know that in France the emancipation question was not a party one. It was to him a source of great consolation to find the subject removed from the region of party dissensions. Men of all opinions had concurred in the necessity of effacing the great national stain of slavery; and on that question Messieurs Berryer, Odillon Barrot, Lamartine, Dufaure, Passy, Sauzette, Delaborde, Tocqueville, and Beaumont, were all agreed, while those who looked to the question in a financial point of view were coming forward with their co-operation and concurrence. Even the princes of France had associated themselves with that great question. A prince of the house of England, the Duke of Gloucester, had testified to himself, sixteen years ago, the interest which he felt in the unfortunate men who had been expatriated from Martinique. A great change since that period had happily taken place in the legislation of France. The present sovereign of that country had lent his most cordial assistance in obtaining some pecuniary reparation for the innocent victims of colonial injustice. The revolution of 1830 — that glorious revolution — had brought with it one great result — the complete suppression and overthrow of the Slavery Trade: and whatever wicked men might attempt to do, their intentions had been thwarted, and the law had been effectual in putting an end to that trade throughout all the French colonies. The friends of the blacks might congratulate themselves on many of the enactments which had lately been brought into operation in their favour. A child cannot now sell his father, or a father his son. A census had been established in the colonies, which would become more and more effectual — more and more severe, and which would henceforward prevent the clandestine importation of slaves. Religious instruction was now communicated to the blacks, and black priests had been ordained for the service of the church. The abolitionists had had the co-operation of the clergy, and had lately obtained that of the Pope himself. The king of the French was determined that his reign should not close without his

carrying forward the work of abolition—and that slavery and the slave-trade should alike be destroyed. The reigning consort in England had lent them his assistance for the overthrow of slavery, and the prince royal of France had been giving in Africa a similar aid. The capitulations which had taken place between the French and the Arab tribes, nowhere recognised the right of slavery, and the establishment of such a right had been forced further and further into the desert. He would also congratulate them on the fact, that if they were then engaged in a crusade, it was not such a one as that in which their forefathers were engaged in the twelfth century, but a holy crusade—a crusade for the establishment everywhere of the great rights of man. M. Isambert concluded by seconding the resolution.

The Rev. Mr. SCALES wished to make an observation on one point. In the Report to which they had listened, a reference was made to the constitution, the principles, and the objects of the society. It was important that those principles should be kept constantly in view. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, as its title bore, had been established for the abolition of slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the world. His Royal Highness in the chair had asked whether in seeking those objects the society would be ready to embroil nations, and to expose them to the evils of warfare. He would answer of course that they would not: for, however monstrous might be the evils which they endeavoured to remove; however wide might be their spread, and however strongly they might be entrenched; though the traders of the earth might unite to uphold them, and though potentates should throw over them their protecting shield, the society would not and dared not use any other means for their suppression than those which were moral and religious, than those means which they believed to be warranted and sanctioned by the lessons of the Lord Jesus Christ. The society wished not to use carnal weapons, but those spiritual influences which were “mighty through God;” and under the blessing of God those enlightened principles which Christianity inculcated must eventually succeed. The resolution was as follows:—“That this meeting, in reviewing the proceedings of the society during the first year of its existence, feels called upon to acknowledge with gratitude the degree in which it has been enabled to fulfil the purposes for which it was established, especially in awakening attention, both in this and other countries, to the dreadful enormities of slavery and the Slave Trade, enormities which call for the united philanthropy of the world for their extermination.”

His Royal Highness, having first laid his hands affectionately on the head of Mr. Clarkson’s grandson, vacated the chair, and left the hall, amidst great cheering.

Sir EARDLEY WILMOT took the chair, and

Judge BIRNEY, of New York, came forward. He was well received, and proceeded to say, that in no other country could such an assembly as this be held, and it was fit that it should be so—this was the land of freedom. His own country, he grieved to say, was debased and degraded by slavery—slavery which deprived the labourer of his hire, and stripped sacred marriage of all its rights. It was thus that they were replied to on the free state of America when they attempted to discuss the subject of slavery, to induce them to abandon it: they were told that they knew nothing about it. Why, were not the wages taken

from the slaves? — was not education denied them? — was not his soul necessary to the joys of a future state? — were not all these things known, and did these, he would ask, constitute nothing? If these were nothing, what, he would ask, was the system of slavery itself, when it was disclosed in all its abhorrence? 'How was this system to be affected? Why, by the action of the present convention, representing many other countries as well as their own. He would barely allude to the fact, that Great Britain had done great things against slavery by the emancipation of the West Indian colonies. He had reason to hope that France would soon imitate this noble example; and he trusted, from the representations they had made there and elsewhere, that she would not be long behind this country. If that was done, could Spain, he would ask, hold out much longer? and if that country gave way, the other slave-holding states in the West Indies must follow their example. It was said that the slave was happy, and therefore it was asked, why should such a system be abolished? How could a man be happy, who was, as a slave, deprived of all the rights which his fellow man enjoyed? Was that a state of things that ought to continue? Could the slave be happy, when the slave trader tore his wife and children from him, exposed their beauties to enhance their price, and ultimately disposed of them to the best bidder? The worthy gentleman concluded by seconding the resolution.

The venerable Mr. Clarkson here withdrew from the meeting, amid much cheering.

Dr. LUSHINGTON then rose to address the meeting, and upon coming forward was most enthusiastically cheered. He said he congratulated them that they had, in the presence of the people of England, not privately or clandestinely, but openly and publicly, heard a Judge of the United States declare his conviction of the iniquity and cruelty of the continuance of slavery. They owed that individual great and sincere thanks, not simply for his energy and resolution in crossing the ocean to attend upon the present occasion, but as an American, dissipating the prejudices that prevailed in that country, having also the courage to declare the truth, and setting an example which he would venture to say would soon be followed by the people of that country. The people of this country in his opinion ought to deal most kindly with their American brethren, for this country had left them the legacy of the slave trade. The people of England were most deeply responsible for the original crime, which was then committed, but it would not suffice for the American to say because the country had left them in that calamitous condition, and in a state so perilous, that it was not their bounden duty to turn their course to peace, mercy, and justice. The Learned Judge to whom he had alluded, had declared to them the misery that was entailed on the slaves in the United States. He had depicted their sufferings in eloquent terms, and he (Dr. Lushington) thought that one single word would describe the whole — namely, that where slavery existed, the same evils ever would exist. There was no such thing — God had denied the possibility of there existing a merciful and just system of slavery. Laws might be made for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves; but it must be remembered that the execution of those laws would rest with the slave-holders, and in their hands they would be made a cloak for every species of cruelty, oppression, and contempt for their victims. There were some matters connected with the United

States, to which he wished shortly to allude; one of them was with respect to the new States, where slavery had been admitted. It could not be said that this country had introduced slavery there; its origin in those States was a voluntary violation of what was right, and not justified by necessity, or called for by a just expediency—he alluded especially to Texas, that State which was now growing up, founded on the basis of slavery. He held it to be the duty of the Government to call upon that country to render up the freedom of those in it who were in bondage. Leaving the consideration of America, there were many other countries considerably connected with foreign slavery and the Slave Trade, which imperatively called for their attention. In France the future prospects were a matter of great rejoicing; for though he well knew the many difficulties which were to be encountered when they came to speak of vested interests in human beings, and though he recollected the outcry with respect to the rights of property, he never could believe that that great and enlightened nation, led on by wise and illustrious statesmen, when the iniquity of slavery was shown to them, would permit it any longer to exist there. What had happened in other countries on this subject? Why, if his information did not mislead him, the spirit was awakening in Denmark, and the people of that country were becoming aware of the injustice and horror of slavery.—When first his venerable friend, Mr. Clarkson (here Dr. Lushington was affected even to tears) began to advocate the abolition of slavery, and with whom he was proud to say he had acted for so many years, it was nothing but a conviction of the truth and justice of the cause—nothing but a humble hope in the final dispensations of an all-wise and merciful Providence, that could have induced him to persevere against the scorn and the contumely of the world. When he said this, he could not but recollect that his venerable friend had lived in earlier times, and at a period when his life was actually endangered by the slave traders in the town of Liverpool itself; and when he said that all support and countenance was now withdrawn, not only to the Slave Trade in Great Britain, but to it in every British colony, he could not but feel the deepest gratitude to him who brought about these events; and he felt deeply grateful that it had pleased the Almighty to give him life to witness them. Others had gone to their long home whose efforts must ever be remembered in meetings like the present; he might mention the name of one who never flagged in the great cause, whom no danger intimidated, or threats prevented, from proceeding with his great exertions, and whose whole heart and soul, from the rising of the sun to its setting, was expended in the greatest services to the cause—he meant the late Mr. Macaulay.—He it was who laid some of the foundations of those measures that were now triumphing in their course. They were now, thank God, living in other days, and it was astonishing to think that the present society, which had now only existed for a year, had had the power to call together such a meeting as England never before witnessed.—One word more before he sat down. It was true that by powerful displays of eloquence the feelings of mankind might be roused to indignation, and almost to madness, against the Slave Trade, for in these two words were comprehended all the crimes against mankind, and all that was guilty in the sight of God, but it must be remembered that their object was not to be achieved by feelings alone, but if they wished to go on in a course of permanent and sus-

tained action, with a full determination and a resolution to cease not till they had attained their end, other things were necessary.— He trusted, therefore, that all those whom he now addressed, would themselves (and would induce others over whom they had influence to) contribute to the great end of the present meeting, namely, the final extinction of slavery and the slave trade, and, as a Christian, he would call upon all present to recollect that in doing so they were not acting under the impulse of their feelings but in obedience to the commands of their God.

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and declared by the Chairman to be carried unanimously.

Mr. O'CONNELL was then introduced to the meeting, and received with enthusiastic and protracted cheering. He said—I have a long resolution, Sir, to propose, and I ought to make compensation for the length of the resolution by the shortness of my speech, although I never felt more disposed to make a long one. Upon the subject on which we are combined there is much to rejoice at—much to congratulate ourselves upon—a good deal to apprehend—and enormous mischief still remaining to be remedied and redressed. We have a good deal to congratulate ourselves upon. We have to congratulate England, in the face of the world, in having set that mighty and magnificent example of the emancipation of nearly one million of human beings, and having consented, in addition, gratuitously to compensate those who were not entitled to any compensation; entitled to no compensation, but punishment for long and atrocious villainy. I voted against that compensation, but I should not be sorry it was granted if I saw a reciprocal spirit of kindness and benevolence on the part of those who received it. It is, Sir, a mighty and a magnificent example we have given, and it tells well to the rest of the world in its immediate results; for what were we told when we were struggling for the emancipation of the negroes? Did not the planters assert, the moment they were emancipated, violence, turbulence, slaughter, and massacre, would be the consequence? Did not they say, “Do you want us to have our throats cut? It is not whether we shall let the negroes loose, but whether they shall outrage our wives and daughters, and slaughter ourselves.”^a What do they say now? Has there been one single riot? Has there been one single outrage? Has there been one single assault? Has anything approaching to spoliation of property, or to the murder of a single human being, been committed? Humble as I am, I stand here the triumphant advocate of the negro race. The negroes have much to forgive. Even the planters of Jamaica, boasting of their high spirit as English gentlemen, still kept the lash to the female negro's back to the very last moment. Even the chivalry of their character as gentlemen would not let them relax the power of torture even to that sex whom they said they respected. The negro had much to forgive. He had to forgive the cruelty to his wife—the horrible treatment of his daughter—the torture of his son. He had to forgive the stripes that were still marked on his back by the lash of his tyrant master. Did he take revenge? No; blessed be God, he forgave all. And here I stand, proudly boasting that even the spirit of calumny itself—the disposition to tell falsehoods of everybody who differ from us—a disposition that I think is as much encouraged in England as in any other land on the face of the earth—notwithstanding that disposition to

slander and vituperation, no slanderer has been found, no calumniator has been discovered, vile and base enough to say the negroes have committed one single act of outrage, violence, or revenge. May we not then look to the rest of the world and tell them how easily and how safely emancipation can take place? Indeed it would have been a calumny on human nature to assert that it was quite safe to continue injustice—that it was perfectly secure to continue to outrage every human feeling, and that an act of benevolence and generosity would be accompanied by a return of crime and outrage. It could not be—it has not been. Human nature has vindicated itself from such a charge, and we stand here now with the fact as clear as the sun at noon-day, that emancipation has not been followed by one single act of outrage. But these general assertions are weak, and do not bear the same force as when you come to particular instances. Now there happens to be in this assembly a friend of mine, and I am proud to call him such—the Rev. Mr. Knibb, the Baptist Missionary.—(Loud cheers.) You do well to cheer him, he deserves it.—(Renewed cheers.) He has suffered imprisonment and the fetter—he has had execution threatened upon him—he has undergone persecution, and now he comes out triumphantly, the friend and the advocate of the unfortunate negro. I take from him these facts. In the district of Montego Bay, the population of which is upwards of 125,000 beings, at the last assize there were in gaol nineteen persons charged with offences. [Mr. KNIBB said, only sixteen.] Only sixteen! and six of these were whites!—(Great laughter.) Now the negroes are in the proportion of fifty to one, and therefore you may imagine what the proportion of guilt between the white and the black man is, when out of sixteen in gaol six are whites. Well, out of the sixteen, thirteen were acquitted, so that there remained but three actual criminals. In his own parish, where the population is 35,000, there was only one prisoner in three months. In St. Ann's parish, with a large population, the gaol is shut up, and the key has been turned into nails for shoeing horses. The treadmill, to be sure, was seen there, but the treadmill got rusty. In the parish of Trelawney, that which Mr. Knibb belongs to, where the treadmill was actually clotted with human gore—where women were tied on that tread-mill, and becoming so exhausted they were not able to keep their steps, and the flesh was torn off their limbs—the brutal planter permitting it to be done—[Mr. KNIBB said, I have seen it]—the tread-mill has got rusty there—there have not been a sufficient number of persons to turn it. In St. Ann's the gaol is shut up, and in Westmoreland the gaol has fallen into ruins. Now these isolated facts strike more strongly upon the human mind than hours of declamation and general assertion. I stand here triumphantly then with this great experiment completely worked out, that it is perfectly safe to emancipate the negro race. But have we not something to fear from the planter? I cannot leave Jamaica without announcing to you that in the last session of the legislature of that country abominable slavery laws were passed amid the congratulations of Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, with a fatal facility, has given in to the views of the planters, and given up that generous protection which my esteemed and admired friend—how proud I am to call him so—Sir Lionel Smith showed. I need allude only to one of them. They have passed a combination law—a law to punish men from combining to get wages. No three negroes can now meet to regu-

late how much they ought to get for their wages without being subject to this combination law. To be sure they have, by an atrocious kind of idiosyncrasy, made this law apply to masters as well as servants. It is mixing the ridiculous with the horrible. Who is to punish the master? — when there will be found on the bench the ruffian that ought to be in the dock. — As yet those laws have not received the Royal Assent in this country, and by the blessing of God the name of our Queen will never be subscribed to them. I know they are in operation in the meantime, that is the worst of it; and, therefore, no time should be lost in calling on the Secretary for the Colonies, and remonstrating with him upon the subject. I myself asked him the question whether these laws had received the Royal Assent. He said they had not. When I asked how many of them had been suspended, he was not then prepared to give me an answer, but I think we should ask him again — for, although they are, as it has been said, in force in that country, would not the people of England be laughed at from one end of Europe to the other, if, after paying twenty millions of money, twelve or fourteen of which went to this very Colony, they were to allow themselves to be swindled out of its value by these combination laws? John Bull likes to get the full lumping value for his penny, and, therefore, I do not think the British people will allow themselves to be so cheated. It is incumbent on us to take care we are not laughed at — nobody likes to be — to take care the public are not swindled of their money, and to take care above all that the negro is not sent back, under the shape of laws, to a state of servitude worse than the slavery he before endured. The planters say they only want to be protected in free labour. But what claim have they for any assistance from the British people or Government, if instead of free labour they have taken care it shall be slave labour as soon as the emigrants arrive? These are subjects of the utmost importance, and glad am I to have the opportunity of proclaiming them to the good sense of the English people. The night before last we saved the Hill Coolies — and it will be our duty within eight-and-forty hours more to save the coloured man in Jamaica from renewed slavery. There is another portion of the British dominions where slavery still spreads its horrid influence. We were told, Sir, when the Emancipation Bill passed, that the Government of the East Indies would take measures to abolish slavery there. I believe they have taken none — I know of none — it may be my ignorance; but this I know, that there are hundreds and thousands, and hundreds of thousands of slaves still in our East Indian dominions, and when we proudly boast that the flag of our Queen waves over none but freemen, we are obliged to make a distinction which has no difference, for the flag of the East India Company waves over hundreds of thousands of slaves. The object of the Convention — the object of this meeting — cannot be answered until slavery is abolished in the East Indies, as it has been in the West. And wherever the flag of England flutters in the breeze, over any part of the dominions in the dependencies belonging to the Monarch of these realms, it shall float only over freemen, and nothing but freedom shall be found beneath its influence, or within its protection. There is, indeed, connected with India, another subject of the most awful importance, but it is not fitted for an Anti-Slavery meeting. I only allude to it, because I think the friends of humanity will endea-

your to remedy the evil — I mean the situation of the land tenures in India, and the poverty and distress, and the awfully rapid famines (for we have had four of them in ten years) they create. If we look to other countries, what are our consolations? We have heard an able and eloquent French advocate of universal liberty, and I am sorry he was not able to express himself in the English language. Had he done so, he would have made an impression such as few are capable of. His sentiments were excellent, and he has long been a distinguished friend of the negro race in his own country. But, Sir, I was very sorry to hear from him what they are going to do. To be sure they had already made a law that their masters are not to mutilate them. Why, it is not the interest of the masters exactly to mutilate the negroes. I was sorry to hear him talk of the French probably postponing, for ten or twenty years, the emancipation of the negroes — it is like what the Latinists call *paulo post futurum* — the prison counts by the hour, slavery reasons by the minute. Talk not to me of regulations, and rules, and laws; commit them to the hands of the planters and masters, it is no matter what the law is, the parties will inflict punishment and suffering on the unfortunate negro. It has been well said, that there is no nation on the face of the earth so fond of liberty as the French. It may be a little exaggeration, and not quite so satisfactory to humanity as to military triumph; but the French having acknowledged that slavery ought to terminate — that principle being once avowed, and England having set them the example, I would like to encourage the old rivalry between England and France on this topic. While Frenchmen are talking of emancipating, and talking in beautiful phraseology of doing such and such things, that they *intend* to do it, and are *about* to do it, John Bull has actually emancipated them, Mr. Frenchman; and that is the thing you ought to do. I do not wish to discourage them, but I laugh to scorn their efforts. I despise their exertions, if they attempt any thing but total and immediate emancipation. That is the only rivalry, except in other good qualities, that I would wish to exist between the two great nations of the world. But we must cast our eyes further, and what do we there find? Why, countries bound by the faith of treaties, observing none of those treaties, for I am reluctantly, but by the force of truth, compelled here to declare, that this mighty sacrifice of twenty millions, this great and glorious act of emancipation of 800,000 slaves, has been followed by what? By a most atrocious and enormous augmentation of the worst of crimes attending slavery — the slave trade. The importation has been more than doubled, the debts have been increased 25 per cent. The result of our having emancipated slaves makes the produce of the slave colonies more valuable, and the consequence has been, that the slave trade has increased enormously. All produce of course is lessened. If it diminished from nothing else, it would from the circumstance that the negroes no longer suffered their women to labour in the field. — [Mr. Joseph Sturge here made a communication to Mr. O'Connell.] — My phrase perhaps was not quite correct. The increase of the slave trade did not commence with the abolition of slavery — it commenced with the abolition by England of the slave trade: but it has dreadfully augmented since the period when the English abolished slavery. We have treated with the Brazils, with Spain, with Portugal. The treaties are fine pieces of parchment to look at, emblazoned with the arms of monarchs; but in the mines of

Brazil, for instance, a great quantity of British capital is employed, and there are British slave-holders surrounding us at the present moment. We have them in the House of Commons. It was only this morning that I heard something of the great friends of the Mauritius. I am now in possession of the fact; and if any of them speak again in another place, depend upon it I shall not be so mealy-mouthed as not to announce it. In proportion as we have acted with humanity, other nations have acted with barbarity. In Baltimore it is the fashion to build vessels called "clippers;" they are used for carrying on the slave trade, and they are made shallow in order to get up the rivers, and to sail with the greatest speed. He then came to the Texas—that nest of banditti. The Mexican government had nobly done away with slavery—it nowhere existed in that country. All at once a band of land pirates took their slaves and rifles and robbed the Mexicans of their land. He blushed to say that the King of the French had at last acknowledged those robbers as a nation. He was sorry that the talented individual who had been amongst them—the representative of France, had retired; he (Mr. O'Connell) would have been happy that he had had it in his power to tell him of that act of his king. It was useless to talk of or to hope for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, while the King of France encouraged wholesale robbery, murder, and slavery in the Texas. By the constitution of the country they had debarred themselves from even discussing abolition for a number of years, and even when that had expired, it could not be done unless three-fourths of the people were in favour of it. They might just as well hope to get three-fourths of the people to cut their throats as to agree to annihilate slavery. Another principle of their constitution was, that they would cut the throats of every Indian in the territory—they would not allow the aborigines to remain alive in the land. Only lately six or seven of them had come in, had been caught, and every one of them was murdered, brutally murdered; he was informed that he was much underrating the case—that in fact the murders amounted to 30—that would entail more human suffering, but the principle was the same. He was informed that they had now twelve British subjects in slavery. Was it, could it be possible? There was no country in the world paid half so much for being governed as England; they paid million after million, but did any government deserve a farthing that would permit British subjects to remain in slavery? Could it be a fact? If the atrocious crime was in existence, were not the Texians at the mercy of England? Suppose they were to send to the Mexicans a British Legion, the Texians would be apt to surrender the twelve, and twice twelve if they had them.—(Mr. Joseph Sturge whispered to him.) A friend of peace behind him, an illustrious friend of humanity—Joseph Sturge, had told him that the Society recommended the use of none but peaceful, and moral, and religious means. He quite agreed in all that, but the Texians were robbers—they had stolen twelve of our fellow-subjects, and it was quite legal to catch and hang robbers and murderers. They had been guilty of an atrocious robbery and many murders—and must therefore be treated as such. But above all, that Meeting and that Society must speak out trumpet-tongued, in order to deter the British Government from committing so foul a crime as to recognise them as a nation. Let the Governments of Europe acknowledge one slave-holding state, and all would be overrun,

and slavery would acquire a fearful increase. Oh, God forbid that they should ever be admitted into the scale of nations. He then came to North America, and there, thank God, he found much reason for congratulation. There were now forty representatives of Abolition Societies in London to aid them in the great struggle for human liberty. They had heard a Learned and able Judge describe the horrors of the internal slave trade of North America. Did they know who that learned and noble man was? He had been the proprietor of slaves himself, but he had given them all their liberty. (Loud and continued cheers.) They had interrupted him. He not only did that, but a second batch came into his possession by patrimonial descent. He was again the proprietor of slaves, but he emancipated them. American abolitionists might indeed be proud with Judge Birney, of New York, at their head. (Let them be honoured in proportion as the slaveholders were execrated. Oh! they had a hard battle to fight. In place of being honoured, as they were in this land, they had to encounter coolness and outrage; the Bowie knife and Lynch law threatened them: they were abolitionists at the risk of their lives. Glory to them. A year or two since he made some observations upon the conduct of the American Minister; he charged him with breeding slaves for sale; he denied it; and, in order to prove who was right, he sent him (Mr. O'Connell) a challenge to fight a duel. He did not accept it. Nothing would ever induce him to commit murder. God had forbidden it, and he would obey him. The American Minister denied the charge, but he admitted that he had slaves, and he admitted that he did afterwards sell some; so let him have the benefit of such a denial. He added, however, that he did not believe that slaves were bred for sale in Virginia. Now, he would read some few extracts from Judge Jay's book, published in New York, in 1839. He would call Mr. Stevenson's attention to page 88 of that book, and that would prove to him not only that slave-breeding existed in Virginia, but within twenty-five miles of his own residence. (The Hon. Gentleman read several extracts proving the practice; also several advertisements of lots of slaves wanted for ready money, for shipment to New Orleans, and one dated in Richmond, the very place of Mr. Stevenson's residence. He had established against the Ambassador that slave-raising did exist in Virginia — yet all these things took place in a civilised country — a civilised age — advertisements of human flesh for sale, and written in even a more contemptuous manner than if the subject of them were cattle. The traffic in slaves from the North to the Southern States was immense. In the latter they were put to the culture of cotton — a horrible culture that swept off the whole in seven years — every seven years there was a new generation wanted. This was in a community calling themselves civilised — why, they were worse than the savage beast of the desert — they only mangled when driven to it by hunger; but this horrible practice is carried on by well-fed Americans for paltry pecuniary profit — for that low and base consideration they destroy annually their tens and twenty thousands. His Learned Friend the Judge had put two attested cases in his hands — (Mr. O'Connell then read the particulars; in one the slave and her mistress were communicants in one congregation, yet the latter determined, and notwithstanding the most heart-rending appeals, persisted in selling and separating the child of the slave from its mother. The other was a slave who, with her eight

children, were brought into the open market, and sold separately, amidst the loudest lamentations.) The mother there had to suffer eight deaths, and when she was parted from the last, her youngest, her senses fled, and she was happy for a time. These scenes took place in a country which, in all other respects, had a fair claim to be called civilised—in a country which had nobly worked out its own freedom—in a country where the men were brave and the women beautiful. Amongst the descendants of Englishmen—even amongst such was to be found a horrible population whose thirst for gold could only be gratified at the expense of such scenes of human suffering—a population that were insensible to the wrath of God, who were insensible to the cries and screams of mothers and children torn from each other for ever; but there was one thing they would not be insensible to—they dare not, they would not be insensible to the contempt of Europe. While they embraced the American abolitionists as friends and brothers, let none of the slave-owners, dealers in human flesh, dare to set a foot upon our free soil. Let them call upon Government to protest to America that they would not receive any slave-holding ambassador. Let them declare that no slave-owner can be admitted into European society, and then Calhoun and Clay, and men like them, who stand up putting forth their claims to be President of the great Republic, must yield to public, universal opinion. He had made mention of two men: he would only say that Calhoun was branded with the blood issuing from the stripes of the slave; and Clay drowned in the tears of the mothers and the children. Let the people of Europe say to slave-owners, “Murderers, you belong not to us, away to the desert, and herd with kindred savages.” He begged pardon of the savage. Sometimes in anger he committed heinous crimes, but he was incapable of coolly calculating how long or how hard he could work a human being with a profit, sometimes granting him a boon for the purpose of obtaining a year or two’s more labour out of him. The hon. gentleman continued, I admire the purity of the democratic principle, when it is kept within the proper bounds of society. I am a great admirer of your Declaration of Independence; it is the delight of even the slave-holders of America. Let me read to you the first few lines. It says, “All are created equal.” These are their own words,—“All are created equal, with certain inalienable rights, the gift of God.” They acknowledge the Giver; and amongst these inalienable rights are, “Life, liberty, and the safe pursuit of happiness.” Therefore they proclaim it; they admit that God has given those rights, and how dare the ruffians attempt to take away the rights which God has given? Is that word too harsh?—(No, no!)—“And in the fair spirit of the declaration, with a reliance on the firm protection of Divine Providence.” They appeal to God; and has not this all the sanctity without the profanity of an oath?—“we mutually pledge to each other our hearts, our fortunes”—they might easily pledge that—“our lives and our sacred honours.” Now I appeal to that honour—they have pledged their lives and their sacred honour to those principles, and when they come to me and say that I am a vituperator and a slanderer, I read to them their declaration, their pledge, and their honours. Well, are we to remain passive as hitherto? Let our declaration also go abroad. Let this Society adopt it—let the benevolence and good sense of Englishmen make that declaration. If an American addresses you, find out at once if he be a slaveholder.

He may have business with you, and the less you do with him the better — but the moment that is over turn from him as if he had the cholera or the plague — for there is a moral cholera and a political plague upon him. He belongs not to your country or your clime — he is not within the pale of civilization or Christianity. Let us rally for the liberty of the human race — no matter in what country or in what clime he was found, he is entitled to our protection ; no matter of what caste, of what creed, or what colour, he is your fellow man — he is suffering injustice, and British generosity, which has done so much already, ought to be cheered to the task by the recollection of the success it has already attained. You have already heard from the Right Hon. Dr. Lushington something of the early struggles of the venerated Clarkson — and how precious was the tear that rolled down his cheek when he made that statement — we have read that the recording angel dropped a tear on an oath which had been extorted in the cause of humanity, and blotted it out for ever — and the tear that stood upon his cheek seemed to have been called forth by similar feelings. He reminded us that Clarkson had at first stood alone — that Wilberforce had but few to assist him, and that when Lushington and Buxton came into the contest, there were only enough to be laughed at by the selfish, and the Americans, but no more ; they had neither pistols nor cavalry, nor serried infantry — they had nothing to contend against the congregated power of British mistaken avarice, and the immense wealth of the planter class. Yes, they had the generous, the humane, the noble spirit of the British people — they had the protection of God, and, blessed be God, we have lived to see the accomplishment of much that they had anticipated. What is our strength now to what it was when Buxton and others came into the contest ? We have had 500 Delegates from various parts of the world. They have come from America and from France — we have foreigners, and judges, and distinguished men of all descriptions. From 400 places under the British dominion, Delegates have been sent to our Convention. Our meetings have been attended by audiences whose countenance alone would more than satisfy the utmost measure of fame or approbation. They are surrounding us still. Oh ! the women of England are here — as they always are, foremost in the cause which humanity recommends to them. They will appeal on its behalf to their fathers, their brothers, and their sons. I am zealous in the cause to be sure, but inefficient — acknowledging the humility of the individual, I am still swelled by the greatness of the cause. My bosom expands, and I glory in the domestic struggle for freedom which gave me a title to stand among you, and to use that title in the best way I can to proclaim humanity to man, and the abolition of slavery all over the world. (The Hon. and Learned Member sat down amid loud cheering.)

Mr. W. ALLEN had been requested to support the resolution, but the manner in which it had been moved and seconded made it unnecessary for him to say more than a few words. When they were all almost afraid to mention the subject of the emancipation of the slaves, on account of the great opposition which they had to encounter in endeavouring to put an end to the slave trade, they had been encouraged to perseverance, and now they saw that, by the blessing of God, the various denominations of religion, and the various opinions in politics,

were all united in the condemnation of that abomination, the slavery of man. That ought to encourage them in their good work, and to endeavour, by every means in their power, to forward the common cause of humanity. The resolution was as follows:—“That while this meeting rejoices in the rapid progress of the cause of abolition in the free States of the United States of America, and deeply sympathises with those of our American brethren who are struggling in the maintenance of that cause against the inveterate prejudices and sordid interests of their fellow citizens, it greatly deplores and indignantly reprobates the existence and extension of slavery in the southern parts of that great republic, by which a sixth portion of the whole population is degraded into the condition of chattels and brutes, and that an internal slave trade, to an enormous extent, is carried on to supply the demands of human beings in the slave markets of that country, under circumstances as disgusting as they are barbarous, by all which the rights of humanity are trampled under foot, the sacred principles of justice and benevolence violated, and the holy claims of religion outraged and contemned. This meeting would therefore call on the American people, in the name of the Christian and civilised world, to renounce these great iniquities, and to consider the flagrant inconsistency of upholding them, in direct opposition to the solemnly recognised rights of humanity as set forth in their declaration of independence.” The resolution was then put and carried with acclamation.

Shortly afterwards Mr. O'Connell left the room amid loud cheering.

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON said, while the honourable and learned gentleman was speaking who had just left the room, a letter had been presented from a friend to the cause who had worked earnestly and diligently for them—he meant Lord Brougham. He regretted that the letter had not been received at the opening of the proceedings. Mr. C. then read the letter as follows:—

“Grafton-street, June 23, 1840.

“Sir.—I am extremely sorry that the state of my health renders my attendance at the meeting of which you have given me notice, quite impossible. I need hardly assure you that no one who attends it can feel a deeper interest in its objects, or more heartily desire their successful attainment.

“I beg of you to present my humble duty to his Royal Highness the Chairman, and explain the reason why I cannot do myself the honour of attending his Royal Highness upon this occasion.

“I am, Sir,

“Your obedient and humble servant,

“(Signed) BROUGHAM.”

“To J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary
to the British and Foreign Anti-
Slavery Society.”

Mr. C. L. RAYMOND, of the United States, a man of colour, then came forward, and said he would offer no other apology for his appearance there than the simple fact that for the first time in his life he stood upon the soil which a slave had but to tread to become free—that for the first time he now breathed the atmosphere that an American slave had but to breathe, and his shackles fell. He rose more particularly to corroborate the statements made by the Hon. and eloquent gentleman who had lately addressed that large, intelligent, and highly

respectable auditory, and he regretted that he had taken occasion to leave the room before he (Mr. Raymond) had borne his testimony in favour of the great benefit which his language and sentiments and influence had had in America. Perhaps the citizens of London were not aware that the English people had it in their power to emancipate every bondman in that country; and nothing other than that belief could possibly have induced him to leave a beloved family, and cross the water in view of the sacrifices and sufferings which it was necessary to undergo in order to do so. He thanked God, however, that it had been allowed him to stand there and utter his condemnation of that system which was carried on in America of enslaving their fellow-men—of that system which they had been given to understand was a system of lust and cruelty and blood—of that system which shut out the coloured man in America from heaven, and drove him headlong to perdition. That system withheld from him the privileges which the American constitution and the declaration of independence guaranteed. The very descendants of some of those men who assisted in securing that independence were at the present day driven into the fields; and it was a fact that the knapsacks had been taken off the backs of some of the soldiers, and the musket had been taken from their arms—that the lash had been applied and the hoe had been put into their hands, and they had been driven into the fields as slaves, after all they had suffered and sacrificed to secure that independence. The hand of the clock reminded him that he must be brief. He wished, in addition to what he had already stated, to say, that it was not only the bondman in the United States that was enslaved, there was not upon the soil a free man of colour, as he understood the term. The humble individual now before them was not able to trace any of his ancestors in slavery; but if he happened to go into the district of Columbia, within sight of the flag under which their independence had been secured, he was liable to be seized and bound, and thrown into prison. For having committed crime?—No. For being an infidel?—No. For being a convict?—No. Why then was he liable to such outrage and indignity? For no other reason than this, that African blood flowed in his veins.

This system did not make the inquiry, whether the man of colour was destitute of character or not? That was not the question, but the complexion; or, in other words, their blood identified them with the system, in consequence of which the coloured man could not stand erect and breathe the pure air of heaven.—If it should be his lot to be imprisoned in the district of Columbia, which had been erected by the taxes which his fathers had paid, and the officers of which had been supported by the same taxes, and after having remained there two or three months, if they were not able to prove that he was a slave, and that he was allowed the poor privilege of going forth free, with perhaps a strike or two, a kick or two, or perhaps a few cuffs, to whom could he look for redress of the wrongs and grievances he had endured? Their national code of laws recognised no redress for crimes so high and so infamous.—Did their friends in that metropolis know that from the commencement of the establishment of liberty in that country, slavery had existed therein. In the very hour when the *Mayflower* was making her way through the ocean, bearing on her deck the pilgrim fathers, that were to establish liberty, civil and religious, at the same time there was another bark going to Virginia, bearing on her deck a different

cargo of some fifteen or sixteen victims, who had been torn from their homes and from everything dear to them in Africa, and placed on the soil of Virginia, and from that day to the present they had been obliged to suffer, and die the hewers of wood and drawers of water. He wished to ask if these things were the fruits of civilisation and Christianity, what sort of a system had been introduced among the heathens and barbarians of different parts of the globe?— He hoped before the meeting left that house, that a declaration would go forth similar to that which had been called for by the Hon. and learned gentleman. He hoped that their condemnation would attach to the inconsistency of the Americans. One of the chief causes that led to the last war between his own beloved but guilty country and Great Britain, was the simple fact of the imprisonment of a few white Americans; that reason was equally good with the resistance which had been offered to a tax of 2d. or 3d. a pound upon tea, and in consequence of which their revolutionary fathers had waded through blood to secure their independence. But it was against the inconsistency of his countrymen in these respects that he warred. The instrument of their independence made no reference to the coloured man; it gave him no protection, but it protected the privileged class, the slaveocracy. He would take leave to remind the meeting of the sentiments of John Adams, the father of John Quincy Adams, who was said to be the author of that document; he advocated political and religious liberty, and he denounced slavery as offensive in the sight of God, as derogatory to the honour, and interests, and happiness of man; and as opposed to the decrees which had been promulgated from heaven of liberty, of peace, and goodwill towards man. He entertained not the slightest wish to stand there and traduce his country, but he was anxious to have the truth, and the whole truth in Christ, made known, and to express his abhorrence of the system which was driving to misery and death thousands every year; for, as had been well remarked, it was a system of legalised murder, and he trusted that the voice of every friend of this country would go forth for the abolition of that most iniquitous system. He would conclude in the words of one of the poets of his own country;—

“Go back, haughty Southern! thy treasures of gold
Are dim with the blood of the hearts thou hast sold.
The sky of the south may be brighter than ours,
And greener thy landscapes, and fairer thy flowers;
But dearer the blast round our mountains which raves,
Than the sweet summer zephyrs which breathe over slaves.

“Full low, at thy bidding, thy negroes may kneel,
With the iron of bondage on spirit and heel;
But know that the Yankee girl sooner would be
In fetters with them than in freedom with thee!”

Mr. Raymond concluded amidst loud and general cheering.

The Rev. W. KNIBB, Missionary at Jamaica, then rose amid loud cheers, to propose the next resolution. He said, he was afraid that at that late hour, no subject, however important, could receive from those who must be wearied — not of the subject, but on account of the length of time their attention had been directed to it — the attention it deserved; and yet he had to move a resolution identified with the present

and future happiness of three hundred thousand of those on whose emancipation they all had so justly rejoiced. It was the following:—

“ That this meeting, contemplating the extent and importance of the objects of this Society, would urge upon the friends of the enslaved of every clime the great necessity which exists, and which, in the recent sittings of the General Convention, has been made still more apparent, for renewed and vastly increased efforts to bring slavery itself, and the slave-trade, which so necessarily depends upon it, to a perpetual end.”

It was with feelings of the deepest interest, and at the same time of the deepest sorrow, he had risen to propose to the assembly the first of those resolutions. He had hoped that ere this information would have been received and communicated to that assembly, that laws so entirely unjust and iniquitous in their character as those to which he had adverted, had been at once rejected by her Majesty's ministers; and if he were disappointed in this, and if the expressions he might make use of should speak with more force and energy than the subject might appear to demand, he trusted the situation in which he had been placed for years, and those for whom he had spent and would spend every energy he possessed, would be deemed a sufficient excuse. He did not wonder that some of the people of England thought he spoke too harshly; but they should recollect he had to do with men in Jamaica and in England who could not hear mild words, and would scarcely hear harsh ones. If these laws had been rendered necessary by the misconduct of the emancipated slave, he should have deplored them, but have held his tongue; but when it was a fact—an indisputable fact—the truth of which he challenged all the West Indians in London, and all the slave tyrants throughout the world to disprove, that not a single act of violence had occurred on the part of the emancipated negroes, from the time the Legislature accorded them their rights until the present hour; he said when this was an established fact, he had a right, not merely to entreat, but to demand, that the negro should be protected in the enjoyment of all the liberty that had been accorded to him. If he could for one moment suppose that these laws were necessary for the public good, and sanctioned by the public voice, he for one should hold his tongue; but with all the respect he entertained for men, for principles he entertained a higher; for all the respect he felt towards those who had given emancipation to the slave, for the high and eternal principles of liberty he entertained a more sacred and inviolable regard, and should these not have been secured—should the rights of the negroes of Jamaica again be trampled in the dust, he would again go forth, and by moral and religious power fight over again the battle of freedom. He claimed their attention, because it was probably the last time he should appear in Exeter Hall. He wished not to remain in England, his sympathies were in Jamaica. His heart was also there, and he hoped to carry back with him the full confirmation of that liberty the people of this country had so liberally granted. Before he entered on these laws, he would announce what ought to strike conviction into every heart, that if once they were allowed by the British Government, there was no way except by annihilating the Legislative Assembly by which they could be repealed. Let this fact be known—once passed, and as fully, and directly, and oppressively as they could, they would be imposed in all injustice and iniquity upon the people.— (A voice in the crowd, “No.”) No! let him come forward and prove

it. Why did the coward stand there anonymously and contradict him? If the West Indians in London could prove that they would not, let them call another meeting, and he would attend and prove it. He defied them with all the scorn which the love of liberty inspired. He had met them in Jamaica when he was not supported by British sympathy, and when the finger of scorn was pointed at him; but did they think thus to induce an Englishman to shrink? No! and they might rest assured that with all the ability he possessed he would watch their every proceeding, and use his every moral power to annihilate the infamous system they upheld; that whether introduced by the English merchant or sanctioned by the English House of Commons, every attempt of their fell purpose to degrade the black man, should meet with his most strenuous opposition, and receive his lasting contempt. Of the laws to which he adverted, and which he would pass over in rapid succession, the first he would mention was the Fisheries Bill, and he mentioned this that they might see how, step by step, the House of Assembly had attempted to obliterate every vestige of liberty. In the time of slavery the poor and old were permitted to fish in the rivers and on the brink of the sea, but no sooner did the Act of Emancipation arrive than this liberty of the poor and the aged was taken away. The next act was called the Hawkers' and Pedlars' Act. During the time of slavery every man was allowed to sell whatever he had manufactured himself without obtaining a license for so doing, but as soon as freedom came, or rather as soon as a succumbing governor was found, the Hawkers' and Pedlars' Act passed through the House of Assembly, rendering it necessary for a man to take out a license before he could sell his own goods—the jars and other small commodities (not provisions), by the sale of which he could obtain an honest and peaceful livelihood. The amount necessary for obtaining this license for every parish amounted to 5% or 10% of our money—and thus this law, which was known to tell against the free system, most sensibly affected the poor and old inhabitants, to hundreds of whom the Baptist Missionaries had given a home—into which the tyrants could not enter—who hated the thought of going to the parish, and determined to struggle to be free. Next was the Pound Law. In the time of slavery there was a law of this kind, which enacted, that every person taking up stock upon his grounds might take it to the pound, where it was retained until he was recompensed for the damage it had done; but now, when the negro refused to work for the planters, they turned stock upon his grounds, and he was forbidden to take it to the pound without a written document, to prove that they were there—a sufficient instance of the hardship and iniquity of this law. The next was the Rum Law. He was not a tee-totaller.—[A voice, “I am sorry for it.”]—He knew it; but he had the same right to hold his own opinion as his friend: but though he was not a tee-totaller, he was decidedly opposed to drinking ardent spirits; and a law had been enacted which he deemed would have a most detrimental effect, by which on every estate rum might be sold without a license by a white man, so that though the black man could not sell the usual product of his honest industry, the white man could distil his poison and sell it without a license. There was another law (and they would think it impossible that any thing bad could be concealed in that), to prevent cruelty to animals; and what mischief could the anti-slavery man suspect lurked there? Why, by

that law it was made a penal offence for any person to attempt to catch a horse or ass with intent to ride it — and for doing so he was subjected to thirty days' imprisonment, or to the penalty of 5*l*. The object of the slave-owner in all these restrictive laws being to bind the peasantry, and prevent their having beasts to go to market, to prevent their purchasing land and cultivating it on their own behalf. But there were others of a more stringent nature still: among those the Petty Debt Act, by which if an employer owes his slave or servant so much money, yet, if he have not sent in a written account two days before the trial comes on (and it is not necessary to allow more than three days for it to come on), he cannot bring it as a set-off, but he must apply for a new trial, and if he does not appear judgment then goes by default. And, added to this, double rents were continually inflicted, and the Attorney-General had stated that, in his opinion, they were lawful; so that a man was charged, his wife and his children charged, and he could prove that when they had charged for the land, they could charge also for the trees upon it. If, after this, they did not teach the negro to charge, it would not be their faults. He had cases of this kind with him which would fill the albums of half the ladies in the assembly, and when he had applied to the Special Justices respecting them, the only answer he could get was, that the law had given them no appeal, and that if a man's conscience would let him swear the charge was just, they had nothing to do but to award it to him. Another law was that for the recovery of tenements, by which five-sixths of the whole population of Jamaica might be turned out of their houses at a week's notice; and the Attorney-General had declared that it did not need a second notice before the ejection took place. In this law it was enacted, "That when a landlord, at the time of issuing such warrant as aforesaid, has a lawful right in the possession of the premises so held as aforesaid, neither the landlord nor his agent, nor any person or persons acting under the authority of this Act, shall be deemed to be a trespasser by reason of any irregularity or informality in the mode of proceeding for obtaining possession as aforesaid; but the party may bring an action on the case for any damage that he may have sustained by reason of such irregularity or informality." Thus, whatever violence a man might commit in executing a warrant of ejection, he is not to be deemed a trespasser, but the negro must go through the expense of a court of law to obtain redress, which, however, he might just as well try to get from the advocates of oppression in England as from the juries of the island of Jamaica. And the houses for which those people were thus charged were those which they had erected themselves while they were slaves, and if there were any comforts in them they were solely of their own procuring. In reference to this subject he would mention one instance that had been related, to show the working of the Petty Debt Bill. An old woman was summoned for rent to the amount of 8*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*., which they were prepared to show was more than the house was worth, and she was condemned to pay the amount, with costs, though she was not worth so many shillings, and too old to labour to obtain it. The next step would be to send her to prison; and Mr. Clark (his informant) said, that if they should proceed to this, he would have her placed at his asylum called Clarksonville, and raise a subscription to pay the damages in this and similar cases. The next law to which he would refer was the Vagrant Act, and on this he was sure the assembly would allow him to expatiate a few minutes. They had already seen how the ne-

groes were amerced in damages—how they were, at a week's notice, turned out of their houses, and, whatever violence might be used, were without redress, except by appealing to an expensive court. He would now show them how, having got the negroes out of their houses, and turned them unprovided for upon the world, they came with a Vagrant Act to catch them, and enacted, "that if any person who shall be deemed a rogue and vagabond shall be found wandering abroad, and lying in any outhouse or shed, or any deserted or uninhabited building, it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace to commit such offender *on his own view*, or by the confession of such offender, or on the evidence of one or more witnesses, to the house of correction, or to the public streets or highways, there to be kept to hard labour for any time not exceeding sixty days." Now, it had been asserted that there was no mention here of chains or whips; but he asked those who framed the Apprenticeship Act, in which chains and whips were omitted, whether they intended that the ingenuity of the planters should be employed in framing by-laws by which they could flog females? Yet the first sight he saw on landing in Jamaica, after the arrival of that act, was a number of females chained like dogs, and the first victim of the treadmill, a female member of his own church, who, though stated by the surgeon to be ill, was condemned to labour on it. Therefore, trust them not at all; or you may trust them if you like, I never will. Speaking of these gaols, of one of them near the residence of Sir Charles Metcalf, who signed those laws, it was reported, that "the platform on which the prisoners slept, is filthy, loathsome, and disgusting in the extreme." Let but a person who has lived in a cottage have the misfortune to be locked up in one of the rooms of this gaol, and not only will his body be infested with all sorts of vermin, but he will run no little risk of being attacked with putrid fever. And with respect to chains, an order was lately issued to assimilate these to those used in the prisons in England, on which it was asked, whether the present chains were not sufficiently elegant for the purpose? Now, what did they say? They would say any thing to suit their purpose. They were in that respect the legitimate children of him who was pronounced to be the Father of Lies. How did they show their disregard of the truth and justice towards himself? When he had been accused of theft and other crimes, he prosecuted his calumniator. In one case the grand jury, composed of the plantocracy, ignored the bills. In another, the jury, in the teeth of the evidence, and contrary to the direction of the chief justice, acquitted the defendant; and a piece of plate was presented to that man for his services to the colony. Bad as were the laws they were rendered still worse by their administration. Whatever laws were made, if the planters were to administer them, gross and palpable injustice would be the result. He was about to return to Jamaica, and to face the plantocracy. He was not going to oppose them by war or violence. But there were 2,000,000 of acres of waste lands, and the friends of humanity had directed that their purse strings should be opened for the cultivation of those lands by the negroes. He did not ask them to give their money, but only to lend it—and let the blind-minded proprietors of Jamaica and in this country look to the consequences, if they adhered to the present system. He would desire to preserve their estates, and to see them flourishing; but if he could not have freedom in the valleys, where slavery had been abolished, he

would seek it in the hills, which God had left for his people. He apologized for having so long occupied the meeting. But he would conclude by declaring that he wanted freedom for his people, and he would not rest until he had obtained it.

The Rev. Mr. SCALES said that the next speaker came from a strange place—the House of Assembly of Jamaica. It would be Mr. W. W. Anderson, who, whilst a Member of that Assembly had been faithful amongst the faithless.

Mr. ANDERSON said he had great pleasure in supporting, as far as he could, the resolution which he held in his hand. He had spent seven years in Jamaica, and had ample opportunities of observing the operation and administration of the laws. He would not at that late hour occupy the meeting by going into details; but he would entreat those who were interested in property in Jamaica, if any such were present, to believe, that if the present laws were persevered in, or if the administration of any laws were to be left to the planters, the consequence must be the destruction of that property. If the stipendiary magistrates were done away with, (and that was an object at present eagerly sought for in Jamaica), the consequence would be ruinous to the proprietors of property there. He admitted that some of the stipendiary magistrates had been faithless, but a great many of them had performed their duty, in spite of temptation, persecution, and insults.

The CHAIRMAN here rose and expressed his regret at being obliged to retire from the meeting, in consequence of a pressure of other business. He wished, before leaving, to congratulate them on the proceedings of that day. He trusted that they had laid the foundations of permanent good not only to the slaves of Africa, but of every other country, and that in those spots where the fruits of oppression only had hitherto grown, they would, by their efforts, have introduced the laurels of freedom.

WM. EVANS, Esq., M.P., was then called to the Chair amidst the cheers of the meeting.

Mr. JAMES STANFIELD, of Belfast, rose to move the next resolution: "That this Meeting is greatly animated by the response which the friends of the cause, the Abolitionists from other countries as well as from all parts of the United Kingdom, have made to the call of this Society to the General Convention which has just closed its highly interesting and important labours."

Mr. STAUNTON, a delegate from New York, came forward to second the resolution. He was announced to the meeting as the Secretary to the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and as one who was justly considered as the George Thompson of the United States. He felt great pleasure in seconding the resolution, which was then put and unanimously agreed to.

Dr. MADDEN, late of Cuba, moved, "That the Treasurer, Secretary, Honorary and Corresponding Members and Committee, be re-appointed for the ensuing year, subject to a provision, that any member of the Committee not attending it six times between this annual meeting and that of next year, be not re-elected in 1841. That this meeting would strongly urge the formation of Auxiliary Societies where none are already in existence, and earnestly recommends to all auxiliaries to promote [Ladies'] Associations within their respective districts." He said,

the slave trade, so far from having diminished of late years, had, on the contrary, greatly increased, even to the extent of 20 per cent.

The Rev. J. KENNEDY, of Aberdeen, seconded the motion, which was then put, and

Mr. G. THOMPSON was called for, and came forward, amidst cheers. He had appeared solely in consequence of their partiality; but he was not only unprepared to speak, but unwilling to do so under the circumstances in which they were then placed. The British members of the Society had invited their foreign friends to a tea-party at the Crown and Anchor Tavern at six o'clock, at which he and others should attend. As it was then four o'clock, and as there were other resolutions to be submitted to their consideration, it was clear that he could not then trespass on their time. He had besides been anxious on that day that they should not have separated without hearing the voices of some foreign friends around him, who would, perhaps, never again have an opportunity of preventing them from listening to so humble an individual as he was. He would conclude by assuring them that he hoped he should again appear before them, and that he was still as ardent as ever in the cause which they had patronised by their presence that day.

Mr. WAYMOUTH, of London, moved, "That the warmest and most respectful thanks of this meeting be given to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex for his kindly accepting the chair, and for his readiness on this and on all occasions to promote the advancement of the cause of humanity and freedom. And that the cordial thanks of this meeting be also given to Sir Eardley Wilmot, Bart., and to Wm. Evans, Esq., for their conduct in the chair subsequently to the retirement of his Royal Highness."

Mr. Justice JEREMY seconded the resolution.

The resolution was put and unanimously agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN said he concurred with them in the vote of thanks to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, and he thanked them for their vote to Sir Eardley Wilmot and himself. His heart was with their cause; and he had given every assistance in his power to the Society from its first formation up to the present time.

The meeting then broke up.

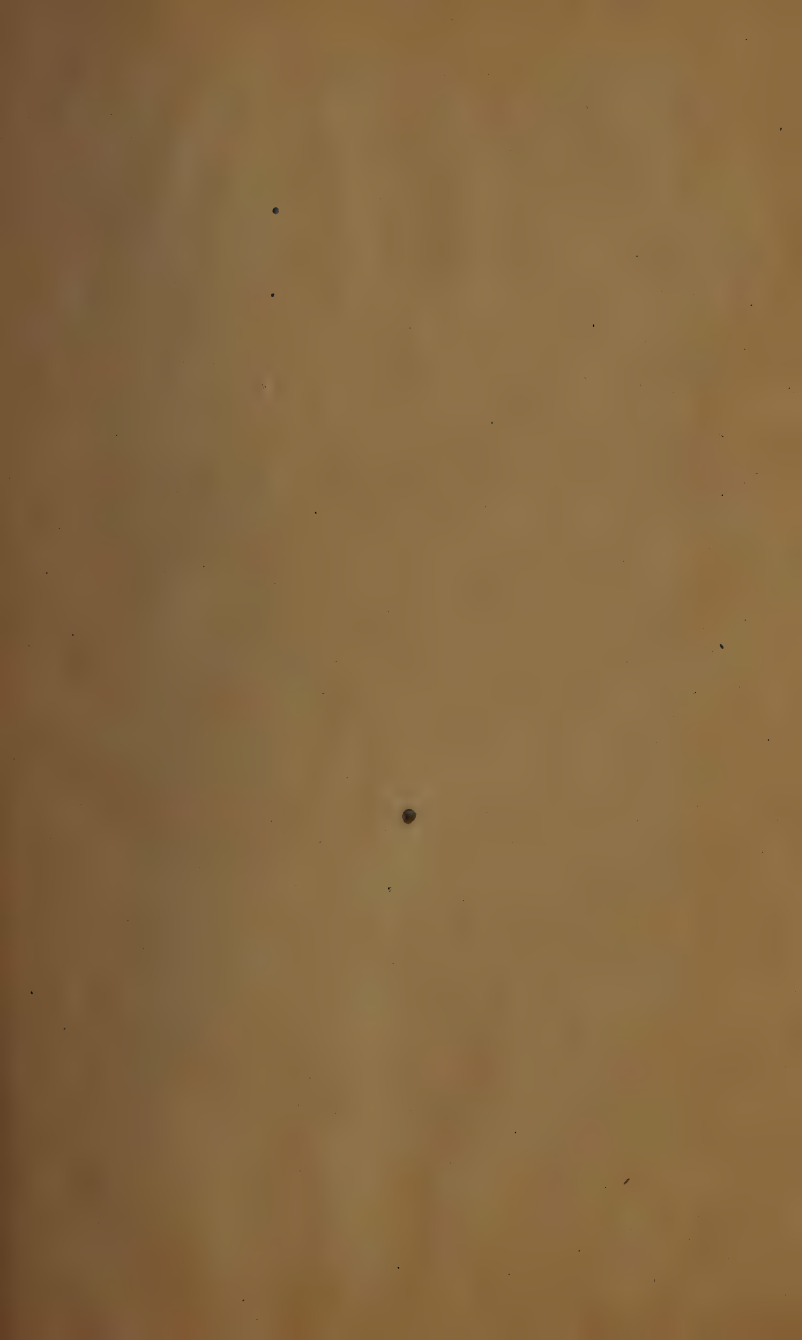
THE END.

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